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134 From the geological viewpoint, the soil of Sine-Saloum is silico-argillaceous, except for the edge of the sea formed by dunes of white sand. Sand predominates in the north. Everywhere else it is mixed with red clay.

135 The subsoil covers ferruginous rock, alluvial laterite, undoubtedly coming from the decomposition of granitic rock; this is the ferruginous fossil layer, following the expression of Henri Hubert, which covers the limestone and marl of the Eocene period.

Numerous outcrops of laterite appear at Kaffrine, Kounghoul, in Mandack, and in Rip.

The digging of wells tells us something about the composition of the terrain forming the subsoil in this region. Under a more or less thick layer of sand, one finds laterite, then chalk or soft limestone, and finally hard limestone.

A highly varied and fossilized marine fauna has been discovered in the soft limestone at a depth of about 35, 40, 45 meters.

173 b) Historical survey. The history of the inhabitants consists of more or less confused oral traditions. No account has been handed down in writing. We can therefore only rely on narrations, sometimes contradictory, which the natives hand down orally.

The representatives of the conquering or conquered races have their own versions. It is difficult for the European to tell which part is truth or falsehood. Our penetration into this part of Senegal is /96/ recent. It happened barely 80 years ago. At first it was fragmentary; the region was traversed by the merchant or trader at the time of the slave trade; the latter quickly returned to his base from the Petite Côte or from Gorée, the turbulence of the tribes not permitting him to stay in the region or to settle down there. A number of business establishments were founded at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth, but their existence was ephemeral and in any case precarious.

175 The internal struggles between the tribes gave the region little

S /96 cont. /

175 security. It took until 1860 to catch sight of a beginning of colonization, an attempt at penetration, supported by arms.

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SR Two large political groupings and a multitude of petty states, both independent and vassal, divided the region.

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SR On the one hand, the kingdom of Sine, peopled by Sérère, was established to the west, on the right bank of the Saloum, from the ocean to a distance of 20 kilometers from Kaolack.

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Neighboring the latter, surrounding Kaolack and extending to the east up to Kaffrine, going north to Kael, and planting its roots to the south of the Saloum River as far as Rip, extended the kingdom of Saloum, peopled by Sérère, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, and Ouoloff /Wolof/.

On the right bank one found the vassal state of N'Doukoumane, subject to the king of Saloum, and the semi-independent state of Kouncheul; on the left bank, the now independent, now vassal states of Pakalla and Mandack, Rip, Laghem, and Niombato.

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[643] Sine and Saloum had a very hierarchical political and administrative organization. The sovereign authority was held by the "Bour" or king. Powerful and respected, this great chief was surrounded by counselors or ministers with whose help he governed, administered justice, levied taxes, and declared war. It was this organization that we found upon our arrival in the region. It is very old, but the exact time at which it was established cannot be stated.

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SR
173 It seems certain, however, that the country was originally inhabited by the Sérère, who thus were the first inhabitants. A fetishistic people, they are related /97/, according to their morphological characteristics, to the Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde.

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At an undetermined time, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, coming from N'Gabou (Portuguese Guinea), crossed the Gambia, occupied Coular, crossed the Saloum, and overran Sine, capturing M'Bissel, the capital of the Sérère.

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[563] Conquered, the latter offered their submission. In contrast to the other races, they stayed on their ancestral land without emigrating. The Mandingue invasion did not concern

S /97 cont. /

- SR the Sérère, a peaceful cultivator. The latter submitted to
 ● 173 the yoke calmly and to some extent absorbed the conquerors
 SR through marriages which multiplied between the victorious
 [563] Guelewar chiefs and the women of the country.

The merging of the races was complete. From the union of the conquering Mandingue chief Malissa Waldione and a Sérère princess, Ouagana was born. This young warrior dethroned the Sérère Bours and moved the capital from M'Bissel to Diakhao. The Guelewars are thus usurpers. The dethroned Bours, who are still called "Bours Ganieck," never tried to regain their royalty.

A short time later a brother of Ouagana, named Béjana, succeeded in seizing authority in Saloum by stripping of his prerogatives the Bour Saloum, Elibane, of Toucouleur origin, who reigned at Kahone.

At that time, Saloum extended south as far as the Gambia.

- S The Mandingue invasion, making an oil stain, de-
 173 tached one branch, the Socé, who occupied the southern portion, from Messira to Kounghoul.

- The Socé a short time later were separated into two sections by the conquering Dabali at the head of the Toucouleur from Fouta-Toro. These invaders occupied Rip and remained there, founding a family with the Socé and the Ouoloff. They
 S
 [77] contributed to the Islamization of the first occupants and were strong enough to shake off the yoke of Saloum. The principality of Rip was very powerful on various occasions.

The Ouoloff race, originally from the north, penetrated /98/ everywhere to some extent, into Saloum, into Sine, and as far as into Rip and Niom-Bato.

The Peuhl /Peul/ or Foulbé /Fulbe/ are not very numerous; they peacefully infiltrated among the other races.

- SR We have seen above that the Bour in Sine and Saloum
 613 was chosen from the noble caste of the Guelewars. This
 [565] royalty was not hereditary. The Bour was selected publicly by
 [645] a high personage, the Grand Diaraff, a kind of prime minister
 608 taken from the free caste of the Diambours. Next to him,

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II. The Population

In the most remote epoch that tradition envisages, the country is said to have been populated by primitive people living in pits, whose principal activities were hunting and fishing. More specifically this small tribe is supposed to have formed a village called Sedor near the site of the present village of Bokkol. Our information about it stops there. S 173 ●

The region was later the scene of immigrations from the north (Gannar). Tradition distinguishes three of these: the first, made up of Sose, Serer, and Peul elements inextricably mixed; the second, made up of Wolof who, leaving the Peul undisturbed, are supposed to have pushed the Serer and Sose to the south without, however, uprooting them from Walo, where the Serer element in particular remained important; the third is that of the Moors, who came to a halt in the valley of the river and forced no one to the south, but all the same played a role in the genesis of present-day Walo. W [173]

The first was the subject of a legend, the humor of which is rather delightful.

After the destruction of the empire of Ghana by the Almoravides, the Serer, the Sose, and the Peul, refusing to let themselves be Islamized, are supposed to have emigrated under the leadership of the Peul and reached the western part of the territory of present-day Mauritania, where they settled near the ocean. One fine day, the Serer and Sose noticed camel tracks in the vicinity of their village and understood from that that the Almoravides were pursuing them and had spotted their location. The fetishes were consulted, and a new migration was decided upon. A bird was captured, /252/ plucked, and attached by a string on its foot to the center tree of the village; on a branch of the same tree was hung a "Kalamba," a small calabash that is used as a unit of measure. The tracks of the camels were covered with calabashes, and the Serer and Sose departed in the night, leaving to the Peul, who were absent at that moment, the trouble of finding out the reason for their departure. The Peul upon their return, after having examined

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the tracks of the camels that had been preserved intact thanks 173 ●
to the calabashes which covered them, understood very well the
reason for the exodus; the kalamba and the plucked bird were
the symbol of tributes to be paid and the tax of the inhabitants.
They followed the Serer and Sose in their exodus toward the
south.

The Peul, Serer, and Sose remain indissolubly associated
in the legends that refer to the sites of ancient villages. This
is the case concerning the site of Diallowali, located three
kilometers east of Dagana, about which Notes Africaines pub-
lished an article in the number of January 1945. It is the same
for the sites of Gandong near the village of M'Billor, of Khew
several kilometers north of Dagana on the right bank of the
river, of Tiedde and of N'Dör on the right bank.

Strictly speaking, it is primarily the Peul and Serer ele-
ments that seem closely bound, in spite of or by reason of their
distinct way of life, the one pastoral and nomadic, the other
agricultural and sedentary. Local tradition attributes a Berber
origin to the Peul; they are said to be descended from Zenaga
Moors, and their ancestor is supposed to have been banished
from this tribe for having had a natural child from a misalliance;
the word "Fula" would mean "thrown out" in the "tandakha"
dialect. Their presence in the country has been continuous since
a remote epoch. Some black and sedentary farmers bear Peul
names, such as Sey (from the Peul "Sy") or Dial (from the Peul
"Diallo"); the princely family of the M'Bodj gets its name
from the Peul "Ba" or "Bo." On the other hand, the Peul clan
of the Ururbe, whose pasturelands are located west of Lake Dier,
claims to be connected through the women to the Serer family
of the Bul.

The marigot of Djös and the region surrounding it north-
east of Saint-Louis had a Serer name. Most of the clans of the
country, moreover, bear Serer names, but particularly those
whose home is east of Lake Dier, hence the Diaw (from the
Serer "Tiaw"), the Fay, the Gay, the Dius, the Boy, the Sek,
the Diey or Gey, the M'Beng, the N'Gom, the N'Diuk. The
family of the Sise, on the contrary, is one of the few to bear
a name of Sose origin.

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The Wolof, too, are supposed to have come from the north (Gannar). Relatively few clans -- it is true, they are important -- bear purely Wolof names, and one comes across them especially in the east. These are the Fall (village of Gaya), the Diopa, the N'Diay, the Niâg (Dagana). It is said that they were widespread particularly in Cayor and Djolof, from where some of them have returned to Walo; this is true of the Niâg. How it could have happened that they gave their language to the entire country is not known.

The Wad are the principal clan of Moorish origin; Wad is supposed to come from the Moorish "Wahad" or Awat. The Han are of Touleur /Toucouleur (Tukolor)/ origin. The Diak and the Yag are peculiar to Walo, and one does not know to whom to link them. The Sar are of recent settlement; they are members of a clan of fishermen from Fouta.

May one risk the hypothesis that the physical environment, whose amphibious character makes communication and pursuits by horse or camel difficult, has assured the perpetuity of a Serer population by permitting it to cling better to the land?

III. The Political Organization

The political organization was terribly complicated; one should be prepared for it after having reviewed the data on the environment and population, as we have rapidly done. The unity and the internal equilibrium of Walo could be maintained only by perpetual compromise, for which all the credit goes to the clan of the Diaw.

These Diaw could have been the last vestiges of the Peul dynasty of the Dyago, about whom Gaden writes: "The Dyago are the oldest chiefs about whom any memory has been preserved, both in Fouta /253/ and in Wolof country. They were supposed to have been Peul and white, and the clan that calls itself Dyag (Diak) or Dyao (Diaw) in Senegal, Tyao (Tiaw) among the Sérère, and Dya in Fouta, owes its origin to them. Except for some who have remained nomads, for example, the

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Dyaobé Peul, the families of this clan are sedentary and have blended into the black population... The Dyago chiefs are said to have brought with them the iron industry and the cultivation of great millet." There are Dyaobé Peul who have been settled in Walo for a long time, and this strangely reminds us of the legend of the Serer, Sose, and Peul fleeing together before the Almoravides. Be that as it may, Serer or Peul, tradition distinctly affirms the fact that in the Serer epoch the country was ruled by a "laman," or master of the land, whose "saint" (clan) name was Diaw. S
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The Seb-ak-Bawar. Throughout the chronicle of Walo we discover the Diaw in connection with a system, under the name of Seb-ak-Bawar, which is said to have been the pivot of the kingdom in the course of centuries. W
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The word "Bawar" is generally used by the Wolof to designate an association or assembly. Here it means the complete assembly of the three leading noble families of the country. It is the uterine filiation which confers nobility, as among the Serer, the Peul, the Messoufa of Walata observed by Ibn B Battouta, as Gaden notes. The three leading noble families in this case are supposed to go back to a woman named Farmata Diawandu who was the "laman" spouse; they described themselves as the descendants of Yoro Diogomay, of Yasin Paté, and of Bakka Bul, or simply Bul, all three of whom were granddaughters of Farmata Diawandu. W
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It was from among the Bawar that the Seb were recruited. The latter, apart from the fact that they had to belong to the Bawar and hence by uterine filiation to the "houses" of Yore Diogomay, Yasin Paté, or Bul, furthermore had to belong to the clan of the Diaw through their father. The Seb were three in number: the Diawdin, the Diogomay, and the Malo. These were high dignitaries whose functions were very important and upon whose initiative the Bawar could be convened in order to proceed to the nomination or the deposition of the king or "Brak." W
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Gaden gives an etymological definition of the Seb-ak-Bawar which does not agree with the information that we ourselves have obtained. The word "seb" in Wolof, as far W
[643]